

# Košice a drift in the European municipal politics

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## Abstract

*This paper analyzes the city Košice as the capital of revolts that took a place in form the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Hungarian Kingdom. It also presented the city as the centre of region situated into the the proximity of Transylvania and on the periphery of the Kingdom of Hungary, which caused the close connections to the history and political ambitions of the very close Principality of Transylvan. The paper also deals with mentioned factors and tries to place them in the frame of European municipal politics. Thus the author do not study the political changes occurring in the 16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as local or national phenomena, but in comparison with the characteristics of municipal politics implemented also in the other states of Europe.*

**Key words:** Košice. 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. European municipal politics.

In the Austrian and thus the international bibliography, the Kingdom of Hungary was depicted as the main source of revolts within the Habsburg Monarchy. This view was influenced not only by the historical facts, i.e. the attacks of the Transylvanian princes, the liberation war of Rákóczi or the 1848-49 war of independence. The Hungarian historians have taken a liking in depicting the relation of the Habsburgs and the Hungarians in this way, oversimplifying it to the „relation” of the oppressor and the rightly revolting party. In the minds of the Hungarians, Slovaks and Austrians, the city of Košice appears traditionally as the capital of these revolts.<sup>1</sup> As far as the the political history of the city is concerned, this image is correct. The main cause of this was that the history of Košice was closely related to the history and political ambitions of the very close Principality of Transylvania. In spite of this, the changes in the history of the city fit into a well-defined frame of municipal politics, with all the parallels and the influence of the state politics applied to the European cities. The aforementioned geopolitical factors of Košice (the proximity of Transylvania and the fact that it was situated on the periphery of the Kingdom of Hungary), as well as the central position in the region gave rise to these factors and/or emphasized them. However, these phenomena have to be studied as a whole, otherwise we might get very distorted results. The distortion of judgment is not an uncommon phenomenon – in fact, it is very frequent among the historians of Hungary and Slovakia. Therefore, this study deals with these main factors and tries to place them in

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<sup>1</sup> Géza Pálffy, „Ewige Verlierer oder auch ewige Gewinner? Aufstände und Unruhen im frühneuzeitlichen Ungarn,” in *Die Stimme der ewigen Verlierer? (Aufstände, Revolten und Revolutionen in den österreichischen Ländern (ca.1450 - 1815); Vorträge der Jahrestagung des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (Wien, 18.-20.Mai 2011)* ), ed. by Peter Rauscher und Martin Scheutz (Wien-München, 2013), 151-176.

the frame of European municipal politics. Thus we won't study the political changes occurring in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as local or national phenomena, but in comparison with the characteristics of municipal politics implemented also in the other states of Europe.

Past works presented the analyses of such changes as a Hungarian and prevailingly negative phenomenon, focusing on the anti-Habsburg ideas strongly represented by the national historians. In the case of the recatholization, for example, protestantism was considered to be the national religion, while those of catholic faith were the servants of the Habsburgs, the royal court in Vienna and the „enemies of the nation”, i.e. the Hungarian catholic nobility. This interpretation has also been reinforced by the fact that the princes of Transylvania, depicted as the supporters of the idea of having an independent Hungarian state, appeared as the protectors of some branch of protestantism. On the other hand, the strong self-governments were considered to be the bastions of national resistance, therefore any intervention against these institutions was considered to be an attack against the nation itself.<sup>2</sup>

As far as the the cities of the early modern times are concerned, their social structure and their class system was a whole lot more open than it used to be in the middle ages. The municipalities got more and more integrated into the centralizing state administration. This was caused by the public administration changes on one hand and by the ever more interwoven relationships of the burghers and the nobility on the other. The latter phenomenon led to the estates of the realm blending with one another, being the most important feature of the early modern times. Except for this, one of the basic phenomena of the early modern times was that the state got more powerful: the scope of authority of the state administration expanded. In the first period, the state infiltrated the cities primarily in the fields, which were related to the development of the armed forces and the public administration. Starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, military centers of the cities, fortified towns, official seats and residences were the first to see these factors change in the field of public administration and the legal and social fields.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibolya Felhő, „A szabad királyi városok és a magyar kamara a XVII. században,” in *Levéltári Közlemények* 24 (1946), 209-267; Jenő Szűcs, „Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15–17. Jahrhundert,” in *La renaissance et la réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie*, ed. by György Székely and Erik Fügedi (Budapest, 1963), 97-164; Anton Špiesz, *ovské mestá na Slovensku v rokoch 1680-1780* (Bratislava, 1983); Anton Špiesz, „Rekatolizácia Na Slovensku v Mestách v Rokoch 1681-1781,” in *Historický Časopis* 39 (1991): 588–612; Peter Kónya, „Spoločnosť hornouhorských miest v 17. storočí,” in *Z Bardejova do Prešporku. Spoločnosť, súdnictvo a vzdelanosť v mestách v 13.-17. storočí*, ed. by Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyelová (Prešov-Bratislava, 2005), 267-284.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban politics in early modern Europe. 1. publ. London ua* (Routledge, 2000); *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Susanne Claudine Pils (Innsbruck - Wien – Bozen, 2005).

In the next period, i.e. from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards the state apparatus tried to get insight into the everyday life of an ever larger part of the society and subsequently, intervene into it more and more. This effort went hand in hand with the fact that the centralized – and later the absolutist – state introduced centralized rules in the matters previously managed exclusively by the estates of the realm and their representatives. By this we mean mostly the relationship of peasants and landlords, directed by the state in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or matters of religion, pastoral care, healthcare, poverty related matters, etc. Matters of war and military financing – which became a state task at the time – have developed under the control of the absolute monarch; in accordance with the novel way of exercising power, a centralization occurred also in other fields of the state (i.e. tax administration, jurisdiction, tasks related to certain units of public administration, etc.) and became tasks of the state administration, backed by his legitimation.<sup>4</sup> In the history of economy, the above transformation is described as the birth of the fiscal state, which exactly expresses the purely economic, financial relationship between the causes and the solutions. These phenomena have influenced also the cities being under the control of the monarch. The income issuing from the activities of the bourgeoisie (the ever increasing taxes, trade income, etc.) formed an ever increasing part of the state income, therefore the state and the wealthy commoners had more and more interests in common.<sup>5</sup> Some call this the advent of state bureaucracy in the towns and cities, the integration of the cities into the state administration, or, with a little exaggeration: the “nationalization” of municipalities. As a consequence of the changes implemented in the state administration and in municipal politics, the

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<sup>4</sup> *Der Absolutismus - ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550-1700)*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Heinz Duchhardt (Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau, 1996); Ronald G. Asch, „Kriegsfinanzierung, Staatsbildung und ständische Ordnung im Westeuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert” *Historisches Zeitschrift* 268 (1999): 635–671; Heinz Duchhardt, „Absolutismus — Abschied von einem Epochenbegriff?” *Historisches Zeitschrift* 258 (1994): 113–122; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London: Longman, 1992); Gerd Heinrich, „Staatsaufsicht und Stadtfreiheit in Brandenburg–Preußen unter dem Absolutismus (1660–1806),” in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5) (Linz (Donau), 1981), 155–172; Rudolf Vierhaus, *Deutschland im Zeitalter des Absolutismus (1648–1763)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978); Alwin Hanschmidt, „Zur Armenpolizei und Armenversorgung in der Stadt Münster im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Städtisches Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen vor 1800*, ed. by Peter Johanek, (Städteforschung, Reihe A 50) (Köln: Böhlau, 2000), 225–241.

<sup>5</sup> *The rise of the fiscal state in Europe c.1200–1815*, 1. publ, ed. by Richard Bonney (Oxford ua: Oxford University Press, 1999); Marjolein C.‘t Hart, *The making of a bourgeois state. War, politics and finance during the Dutch revolt* (Manchester ua: Manchester University Press, 1993); O’ Patrick K. Brien and Philip A. Hunt, “The Rise of a Fiscal State in England, 1485–1815,” *Historical Research* 66, no. 160 (1993): 129–176; *La fiscalità nell’economia europea secc. XIII–XVIII: Atti della “Trentanovesima settimana di studi”* (22–26. aprile 2007), ed. by Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze University Press, 2008).

previously closed municipal life has come to an end by the 18<sup>th</sup> century and handed over its place to municipalities integrated into modern states, developing at a pace never seen before.<sup>6</sup>

The above phenomena have fully culminated mainly in the cities of Western Europe, however, as a trend, this also applied to every province of the Habsburg Monarchy. Nevertheless, there is almost no example of the full implementation of these measures. Within the Monarchy, centralized municipal politics were implemented as first in the main provinces (in Lower, Upper and Inner Austria and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century even in Bohemia and Moravia), more than half a century earlier than in the Kingdom of Hungary. Militarily and financially, the Kingdom of Hungary became a strongly centralized part of the Habsburg Monarchy, nevertheless it remained a monarchy limited by the estates of the realm, having an influential and numerous political elite. After the battle of Mohács (1526), both parties recognized that bilateral compromises had to be done in order to protect the monarchy and the Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, the political influence of the Hungarian estates of the realm remained a lot greater than the power of those in the other provinces of the Habsburg monarchy. Therefore the self-governments of the estates of the realm (the counties and the royal free cities) performed their tasks getting ever stronger, while the full power above the state politics and the jurisdiction remained in the hands of the estates of the realm. The Kingdom of Hungary remained the state having the most independent and powerful estates of the realm within the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>7</sup>

The municipalities being so-called royal free cities could exercise their rights and implement their political interests in this political situation. These

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<sup>6</sup> As to the “nationalization” of cities: Klaus Gerteis, *Die deutschen Städte in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Vorgeschichte der “bürgerlichen Welt”* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 73–80. See also: Nicolas Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat. Der Rat der Stadt Herford und die preußische Zentralverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Charles Tilly and Wim Blockmans, *Cities and the rise of states in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800* (Boulder, Coloua: Westview Press, 1994); Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe 1500–1700*, 1. publ. (London ua: Arnold, 1998); *Le pouvoir central et les villes en Europe du XVe siècle aux débuts de la révolution industrielle: Actes du colloque de la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des villes au Danemark, Copenhague 1976*, ed. by Thomas Riis and Poul Strømstad (Copenhagen, 1978); Mathieu Marraud, *De la ville à l'État, la bourgeoisie parisienne, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009); Giorgio Chittolini, “Städte und Regionalstaaten in Mittel- und Oberitalien zwischen spätem Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit,” in *Res Publica. Bürgerschaft in Stadt und Staat. Tagung der Vereinigung für Verfassungsgeschichte in Hofgeismar am 30./31. März 1987, Der Staat Beiheft 8* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1988), 179–200; Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire, 1450–1550, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); *Urban Elections and Decision-Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Rudolf Schlögl and Jan Marco Sawilla (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Géza Pálffy, „The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century,” *Hungarian Studies Series 18* (New York: Boulder, 2009).

cities had the right of full self-governance, independent of the royal powers from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>8</sup> In spite of this, the royal free cities had only certain rights as estates of the realm and they did not equal the nobility in exercising these rights. In general we can say that they received all their privileges as estates of the realm thanks to the compromises brought to life by the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Among the estates of the realm they had a situation never doubted, but very oppressed.<sup>9</sup>

The first period was therefore the period of developing the venue of intervention. This is when the fortified and residence cities, royal seats were established. The establishment of fortified cities was motivated mainly by the fact that the European civil wars and the Ottoman assaults (mainly on the Iberian peninsula and in Italy) forced the central governments to finance the fortification of their cities at an ever growing pace.<sup>10</sup> The European continent saw similar fortification efforts in the urban areas, too, mainly at the main fronts of the military operations (in France, in the Netherlands) and later, during or after the thirty year war in the cities of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>11</sup> Numerous cities of the Habsburg Monarchy (Salzburg, Vienna, Graz,

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<sup>8</sup> Szűcs, *Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15–17. Jahrhundert*; András Kubinyi, “Der ungarische König und seine Städte im 14. und am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Stadt und Stadtherr im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen und Funktionen*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 2) (Linz/Donau: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung), 1974), 193–220.

<sup>9</sup> István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> Alicia Cámara Muñoz, „Città e difesa dei regni peninsulari nella Spagna imperiale (secoli XVI–XVII),” in *La città e la mura Szerk*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff and Cesare De Seta (Roma–Bari, 1989), 80–105; Enrico Guidoni and Angela Marino, *Storia dell’Urbanistica. Il Cinquecento* (Roma–Bari, 1982), 217–418, 500–505 and 578–610. As to the abundant Italian literature on urbanism, see: Ibidem, 658–661.

<sup>11</sup> Bernhard R. Kroener, „Vom „extraordinarii Kriegsvolk“ zum „miles perpetuus“. Zur Rolle der bewaffneten Macht in der europäischen Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 43, (1988/1.): 141–188; Ralf Pröve, *Stehendes Heer und städtische Gesellschaft im 18. Jahrhundert. Göttingen und seine Militärbevölkerung 1713–1756* (München, 1995); Daniel Hohrath, „Der Bürger im Krieg der Fürsten. Stadtbewohner und Soldaten in belagerten Städten um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Pröve (Paderborn, 1996), 305–329; Holger T. Gräf, „Militarisierung der Stadt oder Urbanisierung des Militärs? Ein Beitrag zur Militärgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Klio in Uniform? Probleme und Perspektiven einer modernen Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Ralf Pröve (Köln, 1997), 89–108; Jutta Nowosadtko, „Der Militäristand ist ein privilegierter Stand, der seine eigene Gesetze, obrigkeitliche Ordnung und Gerichtsbarkeit hat.” Die „Verstaatlichung“ stehender Heere in systemtheoretischer Perspektive,” in *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umrisse eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, ed. by Markus Meumann and Ralf Pröve (Münster, 2004), 121–141; Pierre Lavedan, Jeanne Huguency and Philippe Henrat, *L’urbanisme a l’époque moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Genève, 1982), 3–69.

Radkersburg) were fortified with modern fortification systems.<sup>12</sup>

The permanent presence of military troops in cities appeared – as a consequence of the Ottoman conquests – very early in the Kingdom of Hungary, in the middle of the 16th century, along with the fortification. As it was expressly stated in the available German literature, this was the time when the armed forces appeared as a separate group in society, with granted/acquired privileges.<sup>13</sup> In the 16th and 17th centuries, Košice was – except for Varaždin, Croatia – the only royal free city in the Kingdom of Hungary having a garrison. This special status of being an estate of the realm and the fact that the city was behind the first line of defense saved the city from its transformation into a fortified city. However, a strong power, controlled by the centralized state, the military headquarters of Upper Hungary moved into the city. The interests of this power influenced the development of the city in many aspects and they cut the self-governance rights of the city council. Such aspects were the jurisdiction in matters between the military forces and the burghers, supervision of city territory, due to the facilities of the armed forces and the catering needs of the soldiers, special problems related to the boarding of the army (erection of facilities, conflicts issuing from the social integration of the military). By the middle of the 16th century the chief of the military gained competence in matters such as specifying the fire-protection regulations of the city or altering the city layout in case of its fortification. The presence of the military forces allowed the merchants of Košice to become involved in the military supply chain (as far as they could) and the settling soldiers became a sources of migration for the city. The new internal market possibilities were suppressed by the military wine and beer bars as well as slaughterhouses being sources of conflict between the city council and the local military headquarters even at the end of the 18th century.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Helfried Valentinitisch, *Die innerösterreichischen Städte und die Türkenabwehr im 17. Jahrhundert, Europäische Städte im Zeitalter des Barock* (Gestalt — Kultur — Sozialgefüge) (Krüger, Kersten Köln, 1988), 176 and 179-184.

<sup>13</sup> As to a summary of the Kingdom of Hungary, see: Géza Pálffy “The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. by László Veszprémy and Béla K Király (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 111–135. As to the phenomena in Germany, see: Jutta Nowosadtko, „Der Militairstand ist ein privilegierter Stand, der seine eigene Gesetze, obrigkeitliche Ordnung und Gerichtsbarkeit hat. Die „Verstaatlichung“ stehender Heere in systemtheoretischer Perspektive,” in *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umriss eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, ed. by Markus Meumann and Ralf Pröve (Münster, 2004), 121–141.

<sup>14</sup> István H. Németh, “Kassai polgárok és katonák a 16. században. A hadsereg beköltözésével járó társadalmi és közigazgatási jelenségek a felsőmagyarországi városok életében a Mohácsot követő évtizedek során,” *Levéltári Közlemények* 68, no. 1–2 (1997): 143–197; István H. Németh, “Végvárak, városok, hadseregszállítók. A felső-magyarországi városszövetség és a védelmi rendszer 1526-159,” *Történelmi Szemle* 42, no. 3–4 (2000): 203-243; István H. Németh, “A beszállásolások rendszere és hatásai a XVI-XVII. századi magyar királyság szabad királyi városaiban,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 122, no. 2 (2009): 281–320.

Due to the processes described at the beginning of this study the early modern times were those of bureaucratization, development of the modern authorities and their becoming dominant. Modern offices came to life with the public administration reforms deployed by the Vienna royal court – with noble, though intellectual staff.<sup>15</sup> These officials were linked to the urban environment, urban culture. There were strong links between the urban spheres and these clerks; a city, where a central authority had its offices gained a lot from their presence. The political influence of the city grew; for the merchants, the officials living “next door” and creating family ties became a customer base having taste and style; these meant also new career examples for the intellectual burghers.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, a city had to provide the conditions appropriate for becoming an administrative center. Along with becoming a military center, Košice became a financial administrative center, too, when the Szepes [*Spiš*] Chamber moved to the city in 1568. Though the first plans were to move the local chamber administration to Prešov, Slovakia, in the end it was the rational proposal of Lazarus von Schwendi that won.<sup>17</sup>

Košice attracted the nobility as a double seat. As the leaders of the civilian and military offices, high aristocrats settled in the town, while people from the middle and lower aristocratic levels worked as office clerks. The latter ones could gradually become qualified bureaucrats, intellectual burghers. This development path of the city was applicable in most cases – it was in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries when the palaces of the high nobility and houses of the offices clerks were being built in the city centers.<sup>18</sup> The city, as a center of the

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<sup>15</sup> Győző Ember, *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története Mohácstól a török kiűzéséig* (Budapest, 1946); Lajos Gecsényi, “Egy kamarai tisztviselő a XVI. században. Nagyváthy Ferenc,” *Turul* 72, no. 3–4 (1999): 77–83, Lajos Gecsényi and Tatána Pavlovna Gusarova, “A Szepesi Kamara vezető tisztviselői 1646–1672. között,” *Századok* 137, no. 3 (2003): 653–672.

<sup>16</sup> As an analogy to this, see: Edith Ennen, „Residenzen. Gegenstand und Aufgabe der neuzeitlichen Städteforschung,” in *Residenzen. Aspekte des hauptstädtlichen Zentralität von der frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, ed. by Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 189–198; Michael Stürmer, „Wir fürchten uns vor einer Hauptstadt,” in *Das Hauptstadtproblem in der deutschen Geschichte. Residenzen. Aspekte des hauptstädtlichen Zentralität von der frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, ed. by Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 11–23; Jürgen Wolg, „Darmstadt als Residenz der Landgrafen und Großherzöge von Hessen,” in *Residenzen. Aspekte des hauptstädtlichen Zentralität von der frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, ed. by Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 365–395; Kurt Andermann, „Cours et résidences allemandes l’époque moderne. Bilan et perspectives de recherche,” *Francia* 22 (1995) 159–175. As to Bohemia, see: Josef Janáček, „Valdštejnův Jičín.” (Příspěvek k otázce rozvoje vrchnostenských měst v první polovině 17. století), *Česká města v 16.–18. století*, ed. by Jaroslav Pánek (Praha, 1991), 87–100; Jaroslav Čechura, „Městská šlechta — součást pražského patriciátu? K otázce kontinuity pražského patriciátu 14.–16. století,” in *Documenta Pragensia*, ed. by Václav Ledvický and Jiří Pešek (Praha, 1991), 64–82.

<sup>17</sup> István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, 1. vol (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 474.

<sup>18</sup> Jana Šulcová, „Dodávky skla pre pálfiovský dvor v Bratislave v 17. storočí,” in *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea* 83 (1991), 5 – 34; Jana Šulcová, „Stavba pálfiovskej záhradnej rezidencie v Bratislave,” in *Ars* 2 (1991), 139 – 149; Jana Šulcová, „Nižšia šľachta a nobilitovaní 228

economy was of great importance in the economic activities of the landlords, primarily as a market for the wine and other agricultural produce of their estates. The produce of the aristocratic farms had good sales conditions in the city.<sup>19</sup> Except for this, the city, as the center of knowledge and culture played an important role in the studies of the youth. The decent educational institutions of the cities attracted also the aristocratic youth of the surrounding settlements. To lodge the students, the cheapest and best possibility for them was to own or buy a house in the city.<sup>20</sup>

The settling aristocracy served also as career examples of the city burghers. In the first step they sought to get an aristocratic title while keeping the bourgeois lifestyle and source of income. This phenomenon was not a tradition coming from the middle ages, since at that time it was not a typical feature of the commoners living in cities.<sup>21</sup> Acquiring an aristocratic title meant reaching the highest social rank of the time and was a symbol of their rise in the society – this was not typical only for Hungary. The aristocratic bourgeoisie – unlike the patricians of the cities of the German empire – did not become a member of the privileged burghers, but became members of the aristocracy of the county as burghers.<sup>22</sup> This way of achieving growth in the society was so widespread that almost every member of the city elite had an aristocratic title, too. Many of them, however, didn't give up their bourgeois lifestyle and source of income, not even after the acquisition of the aristocratic title.<sup>23</sup>

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mešťania ako úradníci v službách Bratislavského hradu, Uhorskej komory a Pavla Pálfiho,” in *Zemianstvo na Slovensku v novoveku. Časť 2. Duchovná a hmotná kultúra*, ed. by Miloš Kovačka, Eva Augustínová and Maroš Mačuha (Martin, Slovenská národná knižnica, 2009), 46-55; Anna Fundárková, „Pálffy Pál építkezései,” in *Sic Itur ad Astra* 15, no. 1 (2003), 15-34; *Život pražských paláců. Šlechtické paláce jako součást městského organismu od středověku na práh moderní doby*, ed. by Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek (Praha, 2009); Edith Ennen, „Mitteleuropäische Städte im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5.) (Linz/Donau, 1981), 1-20; Mathias Meinhardt, „Chancengewinn durch Autonomieverlust. Sächsische und anhaltische Residenzstädte zwischen bürgerlicher Selbstbestimmung und fürstlichem Gestaltungswillen,” in *Der Hof und die Stadt. Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlauffer (Residenzforschung 20) (Ostfildern, 2006), 37-62. As to Vienna, see: *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Susanne Claudine Pils (Innsbruck - Wien - Bozen, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 450 – 452.

<sup>20</sup> AMK, Schw., no. 12859, no. 12859, no. 12862. Jelšava, Slovakia, August 29, 1709.

<sup>21</sup> Judit Majorossy, „Towns and Nobility in Medieval Western Hungary,” in *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde: Die Rolle von Funktions- und Führungsgruppen in der mittelalterlichen Urbanisierung Zentraleuropas* (Wien, 2013), 109-150.

<sup>22</sup> See also: Antal Áldásy, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárának címereslevelei 1200 – 1867*, vol. 1-8 (Budapest, 1904 – 1942).

<sup>23</sup> Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, „Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfóza”, in *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya*, ed. by Vera Zimányi (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 42-46; István H. Németh,



The demand of the bourgeoisie to become members of the highest levels of the society of the time is understandable, since the aristocratic title became the symbol of social success of the individual. The city management did not consider this dangerous or harmful, since the top levels consisted mostly of these aristocratic burghers.<sup>24</sup> Beside the aristocratic title, many of them acquired even the title "familiaris aulicae" – in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century one could get this for service in offices, intellectual and economic services. The goal was to raise the members of the Hungarian gentry, the bourgeoisie and – due to the administration reforms – the representatives of the ever more numerous class of officials into the group governing the Kingdom of Hungary, patronized by the monarch and coordinated in a system of compromises.<sup>25</sup> The state and the monarch himself made their best to transform the bourgeoisie and the other noble officials into a loyal group and playing an important role in the state administration and the military supplies; this group could later become a source of the people operating the public administration.<sup>26</sup>

The military contingent in Košice and the office staff jointly allowed the monarch also to intervene in the city in the most effective way, if the interests of the monarch or the state of the new politics required so. The first of these points of conflict was religion. Here we have to point out that this was the reason why Košice and other cities were more or less happy to see military troops – with Hungarian members – heading against the Habsburg monarchs, mainly troops led by the princes of Transylvania. However, the cause of this may be traced back to the trends setting the municipal politics in Europe. One of the most significant parts of the centralist, absolutist state administration practice was confessionalism, thus the authoritative supremacy of the monarch in all aspects of life, i.e. also in religion and church, too. The fusion

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„Šľachta v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?," in *Forum Historiae* 2, no. 1 (2008).

<sup>24</sup> István H. Németh, "Az állam szolgálai vagy a város képviselői? A központosuló várospolitika hatásai a soproni politikai elit átrendeződésére," *Soproni Szemle* 61 (2007): 125–141.

<sup>25</sup> Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, "Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa," in *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya*, ed. by Vera Zimányi (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 33–85; Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, "Polgár vagy nemes?," in *Ezredforduló — századforduló — hetvenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére*, ed. by Zsuzsanna J. Újváry (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001), 395–426; István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1. (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 439–472; István H. Németh, "Polgár vagy nemes? A városok nemesi rendű lakosainak problematikája a felső-magyarországi városszövetség tevékenysége tükrében," *Korall — társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 9 (2002): 79–106; István H. Németh, "Šľachta v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?," in *Forum Historiae* 2, no. 1 (2008). As to the "familiaris aulicae" title see: Géza Pálffy, "The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century," *Hungarian Studies Series* 18 (New York: Boulder, 2009), 75.

<sup>26</sup> István H. Németh, "Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats? The Beginnings of the Transformation of the Estate of Burghers at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Hungarian Historical Review: New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol 1 (2012): 49–78.

of the state and the church is therefore a characteristic feature of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, both in the case of the protestant churches, as well as in the case of roman catholic church.<sup>27</sup> This supremacy was implemented by means of the state administration having an ever broader scope of competence, built around the “one state, one religion” theory. This effort was, just like in the other states of Europe, an integral part of the religious politics of the Habsburg government in the Bohemian and Austrian hereditary provinces.<sup>28</sup>

The first signs of recatholization/counter-reformation became visible during the reign of emperor Rudolph, when the monarch, after the 1604 national assembly, approved a law, which aimed to establish the monopoly of the catholic faith, without consulting the estates of the realm. Before the law became effective, the churches of the Lutherans have been confiscated with the help of the military forces and were handed over to the catholics being in minority in the cities, as first in Košice. This was the first time when the idea of armed resistance against the monarch appeared in the correspondence of the association of cities and towns of Upper Hungary. At the 1604 territorial assembly held in Sečovce, Slovakia all estates of the realm of Upper Hungary supported the protest of the towns and cities and demanded the monarch to return the churches. Building on the religious tension and discontent due to the damages caused by the long war, Stephen Bocskai organized a revolt. The council of Košice took a step unseen before: they prevented the troops returning from Transylvania led by Giovanni Giacompo Barbiano Belgioioso to enter the city; then Melchior Reiner and Johannes Bocatius demanded the catholic priests to leave Košice and subsequently they handed over the city to hajduk captain Balázs Lippay. However, we may not consider the city government to be fully rebelling, since in the following years they adhered to the oath of fidelity given to the monarch. First of all, the cities wanted peace

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<sup>27</sup> Olaf Mörke, “Die politische Bedeutung des Konfessionellen im Deutschen Reich und in der Republik der vereinigten Niederlande,” in *Der Absolutismus — ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Heinz Duchhardt (Köln, Wien, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 125–164; Wolfgang Reinhard, “Zwang Zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena Zu Einer Theorie Des Konfessionellen Teitalters,” in *Zeitschrift Für Historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–277; Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionalisierung und Staatsinteressen: internationale Beziehungen 1559 - 1660* (Paderborn; Wien ua: Schöningh, 2007); Heinz Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1–45.

<sup>28</sup> Ernst Hinrichs, “Abschied Vom Absolutismus. Eine Antwort Auf Nicholas Henshall,” in *Der Absolutismus — Ein Mythos? Strukturwandel Monarchischer Herrschaft in West- Und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550–1700)* (Köln, Wien, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1996.), 353–371; Rudolf Vierhaus, *nde. Vom Westfälischen Bis Zum Hubertusbürger Frieden 1648 - 1763* en-Verlag, 1984), 15–38; Arno Herzig, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben: Rekatholisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Jiří Mikulec, „Die staatlichen Behörden und das Problem der konfessionellen Emigration aus Böhmen nach dem Jahr 1620,” in *Glaubensflüchtlinge. Ursachen, Formen und Auswirkungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsemigration in Europa*, ed. by Joachim Bahlcke, (Berlin: LitVerlag, 2008), 165–186.

and Lutheran faith, to which they saw a threat in both the monarch, as well as the Calvinist faith spread forcefully by Bocskai and his hajduks.<sup>29</sup>

In spite of the fact that the leaders of the municipal elite letting Bocskai into the city were two Germans of Lutheran faith, the internal relationships of power have changed at this time. The prevailingly Calvinist Hungarian bourgeoisie started acquiring more and more important positions in the municipal council. It seems that starting from the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the councilor positions were distributed 50/50 among the Hungarian and German burghers. In spite of the fact that starting with the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, significant numbers of Hungarian commoners came to Košice, their political influence was visible only from the end of the century onwards. This was the time, when the members of the city council changed, too: the Hungarian members became prevalent. From this time on members of a more radical Hungarian bourgeoisie with a strong affinity to the Calvinists, the most vociferous objectors of the Vienna peace treaty got a chance to express their views. Representatives of the more radical Hungarian commoners (George Szabó, Andrew, George, Michael and Martin Szegedi Materna, Andrew Varannay Tóth, Paul Tóth, Stephen Almási) played a dominant role until the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> Instead of the Habsburgs, this elite supported the Principality of Pfalz as propagated by reverend Peter Alvinczi. The interests of the burghers of Košice countering the capital, Pozsony [*Bratislava, Slovakia*] could have been best represented by a large and an adequately powerful national principality, therefore they took the side of the princes of Transylvania in the thirty year war.<sup>31</sup>

During the reign of emperors Ferdinand II and III, the state administration tried to achieve a catholic majority in the towns and cities of the Kingdom of Hungary by more peaceful means. Contrary to this, these were the times of culmination of the recatholization efforts in the provinces of Austria, Bohemia

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<sup>29</sup> Michal Suchý, „Pentapolitana v predvečer povstania Štefana Bočkaja,” *Historický časopis* 18 (1970): 187-191; István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 122-128; András Péter Szabó, „Inhalt und Bedeutung des Widerstandslehre im Bocskai-Aufstand,” in *Calvin und Reformiertentum in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, ed. by Márta Fata and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010), 327–331.

<sup>30</sup> János Bocatiús, *Őt év börtönben (1606–1610)* (Budapest: Csonka Ferenc Budapest, 1985), 168. These were the same, whose arresting Martin Pethe of Hetes, Hungary suggested in May 1604. Oszkár Paulinyi, *Iratok Kassa rekatalizálásának történetéhez* (Budapest, 1931), 65-66. See also: István H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája. Birák, külső és belső tanács (1500–1700)* (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> János Heltai, *Alvinczi Péter és a heidelbergi peregrinusok*, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994), 163-164. As to the relationship of Alvinczi and the burghers of Košice: Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez* (Budapest: Balassi, 1995), 217-218; ill. Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, „Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa,” in *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya*, ed. by Vera Zimányi (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 33–85, and/or in detail: István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 109-128.

and Moravia. Due to the religious politics applied in Hungary, more and more members of the high nobility converted; starting from the first quarter of the century, only catholics were admitted as officials of the state administration.<sup>32</sup> A similar phenomenon appeared at a municipal level, though there the efforts had less significant results. Starting from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the most important means in the process were the monk orders settled in the more important towns and cities (mainly the Jesuit order) and the educational institutions created by them. The Jesuits were soon followed by the Franciscans and the Pauline order. In spite of the fact that the monk orders and their educational institutions provided a very important educational possibility for the bourgeoisie and the region, this did not lead to the birth of a real catholic class of city leaders yet.<sup>33</sup> The effect of recatholization was visible in the cities of Hungary and the fact that the aforementioned Calvinist Hungarian municipal political elite determined the political ambitions of Košice made the situation even more interesting. The vast majority of the city councilors handing the city over to Bocskai's hajduks were still councilors during the war campaigns of Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania. Knowing the previous events it is not a surprise to find out that when the troops of Bethlen, led by George Rákóczi arrived to the walls of Košice, the city council decided to make an oath of fidelity not to Andrew Dóczy, the chief of the troops in Upper Hungary, but Bethlen. Its members argued that protecting their faith was important to them and (as they said openly in front of the council) it suffered a lot of damage in the past few years. The towns and cities decided similarly also in 1644, when prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczy I attacked the territories of Upper Hungary. The members of the municipal councils have

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<sup>32</sup> Joachim Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999); Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 2 (Wien, 2003), 128-133; Jiří Mikulec, 31.7.1627. *Rekatolizace šlechty v Čechách. Či je to země, toho je i náboženství* (Praha, 2005); Josef Hrdlička, "Die (Re-)Katholisierung Lokaler Amtsträger in Böhmen: Konfession Oder Disziplin?," in *Staatsmacht Und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation Und Geheimprotestantismus in Der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. by Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claidine Pils, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Wien: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007), 357-366; Katalin Péter, "The Struggle for Protestant Religious Liberty at the 1646-47 Diet in Hungary," in *Crown, Church and Estates. Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Robert John Weston Evans and Trevor V. Thomas (London: Macmillan in association with the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies University of London, 1994), 261-268; István H. Németh, "Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. storočia," *Historický Časopis* 57, no. 4 (2009): 641-658.

<sup>33</sup> Robert J. W. Evans, *Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie 1550-1700. Gesellschaft, Kultur, Institutionen* (Wien-Köln, 1989), 100-110; Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 2 (Wien, 2003), 122-127, and/or István H. Németh, "Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. storočia," *Historický Časopis* 57, no. 4 (2009): 641-658.

decided primarily in accordance with the balance of forces at the time. The councilors expressed their unison view that history had shown it clearly: whenever a town battled with the enemy, it brought only evil and debris.<sup>34</sup>

This period was the period when the centralizing state was intervening more and more intensely. The monarch, like a landlord, ordered the cities to pay an annually payable land tax (census). Starting from the first third of the century, the central financial authorities could even multiply the number of years of the levy at the national assemblies, regardless of the decision of the assembly. In case of Košice and the other cities the increased taxes and the diminishing sales possibilities led to a rapid decrease in the municipal tax paying capabilities, while the state steadily increased the tax burden due to the thirty year war.<sup>35</sup> This led to the fact that the municipal tax arrears, i.e. their debts grew rapidly. Just like in the other towns and cities of the Habsburg monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>36</sup> The debts, the defaults in tax payment (as well as recatholization) led to identical political solutions: the state intervened into the internal affairs of the municipalities ever more, first of all into the municipal economy. This was the time, when a crucial change occurred in the relationship of the state and the municipalities in the early modern times – nevertheless this was common in Europe, too. Moreover, due to the strong nobility of the Kingdom of Hungary, the signs of centralization appeared in the Hungarian cities approximately half a century later than in the Austrian and Czech municipalities. The election commissioners, representatives of the monarch's will, appeared in the cities of the Habsburg Monarchy in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, while in the Kingdom of Hungary only half a century later.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1. (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 141; AMK, H I, 7145/49. Prešov, Slovakia, Sept. 26, 1644

<sup>35</sup> István H. Németh, "Die finanziellen Auswirkungen der osmanischen Expansion auf die Städteentwicklung in Ungarn," in *La Fiscalità nell'economia europea secc. XIII–XVIII – Fiscal Systems in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Century*, ed. Cavaciocchi Simonetta (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2008), 771–780.

<sup>36</sup> Franz Quarthal, *Landstände und landständisches Steuerwesen in Schwäbisch-Österreich, Stuttgart, 1980* (Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 16), 117–219; Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 1. (Wien, 2003), 123–173.

<sup>37</sup> Otto Brunner, "Städtische Selbstregierung und neuzeitlicher Verwaltungsstaat in Österreich," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht* 6 (1955): 221–249; Karl Gutkas, "Das Städtewesen Des Österreichischen Donauländer Und Der Steiermark Im 14. Jahrhundert," in *Stadt Und Stadtherr Im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen Und Funktionen*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch (Linz (Donau): Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1972), 234–237; Franz Baltzarek, „Die Stadtordnung des Ferdinands I. und die städtische Autonomie im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Wien an der Schwelle der Neuzeit*, ed. by Franz Baltzarek et al. (Wien: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 1974), 31–43; Martin Scheutz, "Compromise and Shake Hands. The Town Council, Authority and Urban Stability in Eighteenth-century Austrian Small Towns," *Urban History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 51–63; Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire, 1450–1550, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: New

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Due to the tax increases and the revocation of the trade privileges, the measures of municipal politics affecting Košice have become ever more intense, until a strong control of the state appeared in the last third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In accordance with provisions elaborated for the Austrian cities, royal commissioners appeared in Košice and in other cities, too, confiscating the Lutheran churches for a second time with the help of the available military forces and handed them over to the parish priests appointed by the chamber (and not the city).<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the commissioners had the task to put catholic officers to power and perform detailed investigations of the cities, describing almost every detail. They had to check the city account books and they had to get acquainted with the overall state of the cities. Their reports, included not only the description of the state of religion, the churches and faith of the inhabitants, but also a general description of the burghers, the city management, the state of the municipal buildings, taxation matters and all aspects of the municipal economy in general. Requiring legal and economic knowledge besides being of catholic faith in staffing the new city management would have led to an improvement and transparency of the municipal economy. The appointed chamber commissioners arranged that at least one half of the leading elite of the cities was catholic and the most important positions of trust (the leaders and notary public of the city) were people selected by the commissioners. The legitimacy of the chief officers and bodies changed, too: previously, it were the bourgeois electors, who elected the officers, while from the last third of the 17th century the new officers were inaugurated by the commissioner representing the monarch, thus the officers received their legitimacy from him.<sup>39</sup>

One of the focal points of the election commissioners' activities was the selection of the political elite of the cities. Though besides being of catholic faith, candidates to the positions of city officials had to have possessions

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York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Klaus Gerteis, *Die deutschen Städte in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Vorgeschichte der "bürgerlichen Welt"* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986); Nicolas Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat. Der Rat der Stadt Herford und die preußische Zentralverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Mathieu Marraud, *De la ville à l'État, la bourgeoisie parisienne, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009).

<sup>38</sup> László Benczédi, „Szelephényi érsek ügye és a lipóti abszolútizmus megalapozása 1670 őszén,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 18 (1975), 489–502; László Benczédi, „A Habsburg-abszolútizmus indítékai és megvalósulása az 1670-es évek Magyarországon,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 21 (1978), 335–356; László Benczédi, *Rendiség, abszolútizmus és centralizáció a XVII. század végi Magyarországon (1664–1685)* (Budapest, 1980), 53–57 and 68–74.

<sup>39</sup> As to the commands, see, for example: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hoffinanz Ungarn [*Austrian State Archives, Financial and Treasury Archives, Hungarian Royal Finances*] RN 360. December 1693, fol. 365–372. December 15, 1690 As to this phenomenon, see: István H. Németh, “Pre-Modern State Urban Policy at a Turning Point in the Kingdom of Hungary: The Elections to the Town Council,” in *Urban Elections and Decision Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Rudolf Schlögl and Jan Marco Sawilla (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 276–299.

(*benepossessionatus*) and had be qualified (*qualificatus*),<sup>40</sup> in the haste caused by the fast position switches it happened many times that people with insufficient qualification and social status received very lucrative positions.<sup>41</sup> In spite of this we can't say that (contrary to the emperor's will) the changes implemented on the base of religion would have greatly and irrevocably decreased the qualifications of the city leaders. In the second generation after the switch we can see quite the opposite! Before the aforementioned change in municipal politics, the councils of most cities were dominated by the monopoly of the Lutheran church – there weren't almost any catholics in the councils. The qualifications of the Lutheran elite were proven by both the reports of the chamber commissioners as well as the analyses of the social history of this class. A significant part of the Lutherans went to universities or were university graduates. Besides their education, within the cities they had also strong roots, since the members of the Lutheran elite were interconnected in a very strong network of family ties and their houses occupied the most noble streets of the cities. Their exceptional position was shown also by the fact that almost each of them had a noble title and many of them bore also the “*familiaris aulicae*” title for their services as officials, intellectuals and economists. These characteristics remained unchanged until the first third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the ratio of university graduates – mainly in the field of law – grew and the practice of acquisition of noble titles and promotion did not cease either. This trend suggests that after the consolidation following the successful war against the Ottoman empire, the beginnings of a professional city management appear, which – also due to the demands of the royal court in Vienna – fulfilled also the requirement of legal and economic qualification

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<sup>40</sup> „...necessarium valde et expediens iudicavimus, ut quandoquidem catholica orthodoxa per Dei gratium fides, magnum illic incrementum sumpsisse, frequentesque catholicae bene qualificate, ad gerenda senatoria, et quaelibet alia inter vos consueta officia, idoneae personae inveniri comperiantur.” AMK, Schw., no. 9277. Vienna, December 16, 1674 see also: Ibidem no. 9332. Bratislava, Slovakia, July 19, 1675, no. 9405. Košice, Slovakia, January 7, 1676, no. 9475. Vienna, Austria, December 24, 1677, no. 9476. Bratislava, Slovakia, January 2, 1677, no. 11008. Vienna, Austria, December 2, 1696.

<sup>41</sup> Szűcs, *Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15–17. Jahrhundert*, 156; Špiesz, *ovské mestá na Slovensku v rokoch 1680–1780*, 29–46; Anton Špiesz, “Der Wiener Hof und die Städte in Ungarn in den Jahren 1681–1780;” in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5) (Linz/Donau), 1981), 83–95; Špiesz, *Rekatolizácia Na Slovensku v Mestách v Rokoch 1681–1781*, 588–612.; Marie Marečková, “Politická autonómie a vnútňi samospráva východoslovenských svobodných kráľovských miest v 17. stolyti,” *Historický Časopis* 41 (1993): 543–550; István H. Németh, “Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. storočia,” *Historický Časopis* 57, no. 4 (2009): 641–658; István H. Németh, “Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats? The Beginnings of the Transformation of the Eastate of Burghers at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *The Hungarian Historical Review: New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* vol 1 (2012): 61–62.

and allowed a more “bureaucratic” city management.<sup>42</sup>

At the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, significant changes took place even among the catholic city leaders. With almost no exception, the elected officers had no legal education and it was impossible to put anybody into a position without strong social ties. The qualified catholic city leaders, who acquired the positions, came from various social environments. A part of them came from beyond the cities, but they had partly family ties and partly social and economic ties, therefore they had significant prestige. These “semi-foreigners” came from the officers of great estates neighboring the cities, having strong economic ties. Many of them were permanently residing in cities earlier, too, owning houses in the city centers. These can be classified as city aristocracy (thus not members of noble families with commoner professions), who belonged once to the class of economic intellectuals.<sup>43</sup> It was typical for this class that their either descendants remained in the city councils, or went to serve the state or wed a person in the services of the state. By the last two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century we see burghers, who were not only catholic, but were also sufficiently qualified, though these were not too numerous. With them, burghers embedded in society as required acquired city council positions – as to their families, these people had double identities in most of the cases. Due to their burgher professions and partly due to their family ties they were connected to the local burghers; however, they also had ties to the state authorities and the other family ties with state authority officials connected them to the state administration. Therefore they can be perceived as the predecessors of the new city management elite, who got to power from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards and (as far as their attitude is concerned), the precursors of the intellectual class of the so-called honorators.<sup>44</sup>

In spite of this it is sure that the previous Lutheran city management elite suffered a significant defeat, since at the time it had to share positions with an elite of a faith, the first generation of which was unacceptable for them since its members were insufficiently embedded in society. After 1670, the judges of Košice were former military officers of Upper Hungary, while the members of the catholic elite were lacking the required qualification at first. These phenomena, as well as the proximity of Transylvania resulted in the fact that the region of Upper Hungary was the traditional focal point of uprisings, so at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries Košice became the center of the

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<sup>42</sup> Németh, *Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats...*, 58-61; István H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája. Bírák, külső és belső tanács (1500–1700)* (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> István H. Németh, „Polgár vagy nemes? A városok nemesi rendű lakosainak problematikája a felső-magyarországi városszövetség tevékenysége tükrében,” *Korall — társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 9 (2002): 79–106; Németh, *Šľachta v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?*.

<sup>44</sup> Németh, *Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats...*, 63-74.



movements of Upper Hungary, the Kingdom of Upper Hungary led by Emeric Thököly, as well as the Rákóczi war for independence.

The reaction of the old municipal elite was almost as expected: they did not accept the legitimacy of the previous elite, they made new elections and subsequently the Lutherans took over the city positions, again.

The control over the cities did not change even during the war of independence led by Rákóczi. Rákóczi sent his election commissioners to the cities occupied by his forces, just like emperor Leopold I did before.<sup>45</sup> This time it was the catholic city council, who requested libera electio/free elections at the time of the capitulation in Košice:<sup>46</sup> the right violated by the king of Hungary in favor of the catholics and against which the Lutherans revolted. This time it happened vice versa: the Lutherans requested the prince to send an election commissioner in order to get back the power they had before.<sup>47</sup> The measures of the municipal politics implemented during the war of independence led by Rákóczi show many similarities to those of the absolutism of emperor Leopold I. Due to the costs of maintaining the war of independence, the burden of Košice and other towns and cities did not lessen and the artificial inflation robbed the burghers just like the similar measures of Leopold I. The prince did not give real power the city council members either: though only to a little extent, he tried to influence the new elections, he did admit the representatives of the towns and cities (i.e. the fourth estate of the realm) in the Economic Council and it was only due to the united action of the royal free cities of Hungary that after a lot effort they finally managed to include two representatives of the cities into the jury of the Tribunal.<sup>48</sup>

The characteristics of municipal politics in Košice came from the same political space as those seen in other European countries. However, due to the special geopolitical situation of the Kingdom of Hungary – and specifically Košice – some phenomena, like the military presence, the development of the city nobility, the tax burden of the cities, etc. were more emphasized, while others, such as the state control over the cities, the effects of recatholization arrived with a delay. Therefore, we can say that the political elements of the development of Košice, just like it was in the case of other Hungarian cities, fit into a well-defined European trend. The causes of these unique phenomena are the effects of the local factors influencing these characteristics.

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<sup>45</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár [*Hungarian National Archives*], Országos Levéltár, Thököly- és Rákóczi-szabadságharc levéltára, Rákóczi-szabadságharc levéltára, G 25 (counties and cities i.) III.2.a. December 28, 1703, March 26, 1706 As to Kremnica, Slovakia, see: Ibidem III.2.b. 1704.

<sup>46</sup> AMK, Schw., no. 12183. Košice, August 24, 1704.

<sup>47</sup> AMK, Schw., no. 12353. Košice, Slovakia, January 21, 1705; AMK, Schw., no. 12327. May 3, 1705. As to this, see also: R. Várkonyi Ágnes, „II. Rákóczi Ferenc államáról,” in *Az államiság megőrzése. Tanulmányok a Rákóczi-szabadságharcról* (Budapest: Czigány István Budapest, 2002), 252-253.

<sup>48</sup> AMK, Schw., no. 12372. April 3, 1705. As to the assessors of the tribunal: AMK, Schw., no. 12659. July 18, 1707; AMK, Schw., no. 12708. Levoča, Slovakia, August 7, 1707.

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